
contemplates with more intense interest and
gled satisfaction, the Colony at Liberia, than the
scribe. I have elsewhere termed it the
heart of Africa.

[illegible][illegible]

As an illustration of the rigidity of the clergy and of the nation at that time, and even in the main, I would state, that then, just when the word had been whispered about Garrison's infidelity, when he was known to extreme orthodoxes, and orthodox views of theology, that a clergyman of Boston could not get, nor a Hall, except the latter owned and occupied by the Atholene of the Knoxland school. This Hall was placed under the disposal by the Atholene, to be used for the general purpose, as he should see fit. Then, however, was the only hall in Boston in which George Thompson was allowed to lecture on slavery. In the fall of 1841, Garrison joined the cause of freedom in 1841, and because he did so, from that hour the clergy and clergy of Boston branded him as an infidel; and when they closed their doors against the infidel, he went into the hall of the Atholene school.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]



POETRY.

THE SLAVE IN AMERICA.

From the Liberty Bell.
THE SLAVE IN AMERICA.
BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

Land of the brave! thy hallowed shore
Is stained with tints of blood;
And human cries are wafted o'er
Thy deep-blue ocean-flood!
Mark! from the fields where Freedom fought,
And heroes bled to save
The Ark of Liberty, are heard
The moanings of the slave!

What is his lot? Unheard of woe!
Always to love and part;
To feel the lash, to bear the blow,
The rending of the heart;
To see delights he cannot share,
To feast, and yet to crave,
To hoist the flag of liberty,
Yet live and die a slave.

He lives upon a Christian shore!
Enslaved by Christian men!
'Tis they who o'er his tawny neck
Have bound the iron chain.
O, God of mercy, let thy voice
Thy truth and love proclaim;
Nor may the tyrants of their race
Disgrace thy holy name.

Rouse thee, Columbia, in thy might!
Thy tarnished glory save!
Bid every subject of thy way
No longer be a slave!
So shall one voice to heaven arise
In sacred harmony;
And echo through the vaulted skies
The shout of Liberty!

Edinburgh, June 5th, 1846.

NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS.

From the Corridor of the Salem (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Bazaar to its Patrons.

Time passes on. Another year has flown,
With noisier pinions, to the Eternal throne,
Bearing its record of the good and ill,
With which man's deeds its ample pages fill.
Oh, that the record was as full of light
As God himself is radiant with love!
That every deed was done for Truth and Right,
In spirit such as Jesus could approve!

But, while we know the diamond pen of Time
The record of ennobling acts hath traced,
Beside them stands the catalogue of crime,
By which Humanity has been disgraced;
Nations and men, alike forgetting God,
Have strept their hands in guilt, and fed on human blood.

Foremost, of these, our country thou art seen!
None shout more earnestly in Freedom's name;
And none more shamelessly, by deeds, proclaim
Doctrines alike unrighteous, vile and mean.
Europe's Magyar, on whom a tyrant's hand
The fetters of captivity had laid,
Who loved so well his own green mountain land,
And to its rescue led its gallant band,
And "Death or Liberty" their war-cry made—
'Tis thy delight to honor. Loud huzzas
Proclaim his welcome to the Western world;
Thy words of sympathy and warm applause
Gave new-born life to the Hungarian cause;
And speech and toast, in burning language, told
That thou the martyr hero wouldst uphold,
Till the oppressor from his throne was hurled.

How fare the Magyars that draw birth from thee?
They, on whose brow the sun hath fiercely shone,
Chains, stripes, unending, hopeless slavery—
These, and these only, have they as their own!
Rights that the Deity himself hath given—
So sacred in His eyes, that not all heaven
Has power to trample on the very least—
This nation, with a ruthless hand, has riven,
And on man's forehead stamped the name of "beast."

And when the dark-browed Magyars heard of one,
With fairer skin, who fought in Europe's land,
And sought his nation's liberty to win,
And break for aye Oppression's iron band,
It seemed to them a very trumpet tone,
Wakening the manhood that had slept within;
And for their plundered rights they bravely stood,
And Christian's plumes baptized with tyrants' blood.
Then spoke this nation:—"To the wretches, death!
Off to the gallows with the traitorous brood!
Nor longer let their thrice-cursed breath
Offend the presence of the wise and good!"

And they who took these Magyars by the hand,
In grief and anguish for the nation's sin,
Bidding them seek a freer, happier land,
Where they a peaceful liberty could win,
Are traitors all. For it is treason now
To speak with kindness to the suffering poor,
To bathe with gentle hand the fevered brow,
Or open Oppression's prison door!
'Tis treason now the hungering to feed,
To shield the naked from the biting blast,
Or in the bondman's hour of sore need,
A look of pity on the sufferer cast!

That which is noble, dignified and great,
On Europe's soil, where Austria bears command,
Is wicked, vile, and treason to the State,
If done within this slave-accursed land!
This nation prides Hungary's deeds of glory,
But shrinks aghast from Christian's story:
Its Kosuth text and treason commentary
Are different far as June and January.

Thank God! the echo of each burning word
The Magyar speaks, hereafter will be heard;
And signal shouts will roll throughout the North,
Telling the people that it now is war—
That Freedom in her strength is marching forth
To drive the spoiler from his helpless prey;
That on this soil no longer can there be
One single vestige left of human slavery.

Thank God! that every throb of Freedom's heart
Sends the life-blood to earth's remotest part,
Giving new strength to every soul that dare
In Freedom's peril and its triumph share!
When Europe strikes for liberty, the deep
Of human sympathy its power will feel;
And brave hearts here exultingly will leap,
When bears the Atlantic wave the clarion peal.

Telling the end of Despotism's hour;
And quick the electric flash will speed along our shore,
Bidding the tyrant here despair forevermore.
Nor can Oppression with its countless train
Beat back the tide of freedom rolling in;
But, Canute-like, will find it worse than vain
To strive to bind the wild, rushing main,
And with its rusted fetters to enchain
The mountain waves that shall engulf its sin.

God speed that day! and may we each so live
Throughout the coming year, that every hour
A new impulse to Freedom's cause will give,
And clothe her presence with increasing power;
And while remembering the nation's sin,
Forgetting not the wrong that dwells our hearts
Within.

THE SLAVE IN MARBLE.

A mighty statue the Athenians placed
To Aepos; and the slave in marble basel;
That all might know the road to fame was free,
Attained alone by merit, not degree.

Selections.

CASIMIR BATHYANY ON KOSSUTH, AND THE FALL OF HUNGARY.

In the London Times appears a long and exceedingly well-written letter from the pen of one who bore a distinguished share in the events which he has undertaken to illustrate, namely, Casimir Bathany. He was one of the fugitives who accompanied Kosuth when he took shelter in the Ottoman dominions, and was his fellow-prisoner at Kutaya. He was brother to another sufferer in the Hungarian cause, Louis Bathany, Prime Minister of the Hungarian administration, who was put to death by the Austrian government at the close of the war. The first portion of his letter is in reply to one from Prince Paul Esterhazy—the remainder relates to Kosuth, which we publish without abridgment.

It cannot be denied that there was a faction in the country, and even in the Diet, that was daily increasing in numbers, and was weak enough to countenance, whose object was to keep up a perpetual agitation, not for the purposes of maintaining the laws and liberties of the country, but with the view of hurrying the country into revolution. This faction was kept down by Louis Bathany as long as he was able to maintain his position. If, without getting precisely the upper hand, this faction finally succeeded in spreading terror into the ranks of all other parties, and forcing the country into extreme measures, it was merely because it was enabled to form a firm footing through the policy pursued by the Austrian Minister. The urgent necessity of placing Hungary in a state of defence against the machinations of the Austrian Cabinet served as a good pretext to cloak the real designs of the faction. The turbulent policy pursued towards Hungary from the very beginning, and the strange spectacle of His Majesty's Hungarian and Austrian troops fighting on both sides during the Serbian insurrection and the Croatian insurrection, first shook the confidence which the nation had placed in the throne, and finally forced the Bathany Ministry to resign.

The manifesto of the Austrian Ministers against the Hungarian Constitution; the rehabilitation of the Ban; the manifestoes of Sept., Oct., and Nov., by which the Diet was dissolved, the Constitution destroyed, and the country placed under martial law; the abdication of Ferdinand, and the assumption of the crown of Hungary by the Emperor Francis Joseph, in contempt of legal forms, and the compact by which all his predecessors had ascended the Hungarian throne, which stood open to him in a legal way, if he had chosen to avail himself of it; and, finally, the dogged and stubborn refusal of Prince Windischgratz to listen to any compromise with rebels—all these circumstances combined drove the nation to have recourse to arms, and to rely exclusively on its own resources. The Austrian Constitution of March 4th, 1849, by which the political existence of Hungary was blotted out, and Hungary treated as a mere province of the Austrian empire, gave the strongest hold to the insatiable party, and attached Hungary to the Hapsburg dynasty. The blind and unscrupulous policy of the faction that had seized the reins of government in Austria soon made the more moderate men in Hungary regret that the defence of the country had been so long neglected, and obliged even those (and they formed a majority in the country) who were adverse to the extreme measures of the Hapsburg dynasty and the declaration of complete independence, to acquiesce in this measure when it was accomplished, rather than to withdraw from the service of the country.

And in asserting that, with the exception of a contemptible faction, it was, at the commencement, the loyal intention of every one in Hungary to maintain the union with Austria, I do not—whatever he may have done since—exclude Kosuth himself.

The very versatility of his mind and temper which makes him embrace every novelty with so much ardor, and such sanguine expectations, is the best proof that, although stamped by nature for an agitator, he was long a moderate man, and that he would have remained so had Austria kept her side of the bargain. Besides, what could have induced any man of common sense in Hungary, at that period, to overstep the bounds of constitutional legality, the attainment of which had been the constant aim of so many Diets, and which was for the first time fully accomplished and supported by guns, and which was finally hoped would render such a desirable state permanent—at a time, too, when he had provoked a struggle which had been left alone, because the country had everything to lose and nothing to gain by it? Yes, I repeat, Kosuth himself was sincerely desirous of keeping up the connexion with Austria, on the terms that had been agreed to. But when the unexpected blows were dealt in the dark, and with the intention of wearing Hungary out, and exhausting her strength and patience in fruitless struggles, then it was that Kosuth's impetuous and restless temper, and the inherent weakness of his character, which led him to break through the agreement, and to place himself in a position of hostility to Austria. Ambition, and a hankering after notoriety, and the suppleness with which he always yielded to the most pressing and least scrupulous, placed him first in contradiction with himself, and then involved him—and it may be said, also, the other ministers—in an inconsistent policy, and finally led him to the conclusion of the revolution. It is unnecessary to charge a man with more failings and vices than he has been guilty of. Kosuth has already enough to answer for before the tribunal of public opinion respecting his political conduct, which was unquestionably the main cause of the ruin and downfall of his country.

Deficient in the knowledge of men and things—in the steadfast bearing, cool judgment, and comprehensive mind of a statesman, and without the firm hand of a ruler—setting at naught all sound calculation, while he played a game of chance, and staked the fate of the nation on the cast of a die—countenancing danger with a reckless energy, when distant, but shrinking from it when near—elevated and overbearing in prosperity, but utterly prostrate in adversity—wanting that strength and intrepidity of character that alone commands homage and obedience from others, while he suffered himself to be made the tool of every intriguer he came in contact with, and who mistook his manifold accomplishments and natural talents for a high station, and a country in times of trouble, and setting, in the flights of fancy, no bounds to the scope of his ambition, Kosuth hurried away the nation into a course of the most impolitic measures, and grasped the highest power in the realm by dubious means—but, when scarcely in possession of it, suffered it to be wrested from his hands by the man whom he had himself most injudiciously raised to a high station, and against whom, although he had received repeated warnings, as well as proofs, of his treachery and worthlessness, he never dared openly and boldly to proceed—by the man whom he had hoped to ensnare, while he was finally overthrown, and by whom he was finally overthrown.

The generous sympathy of the English nation cannot be quashed by being told that Austria was the benefactor of Hungary, while the Hungarian Diet was a factious assembly, and a majority of the Hungarian Ministers a set of rebels. In doing honor to Kosuth, the English people have shown their sympathy for the cause of an unfortunate country, which has been betrayed by its traitorous ministers; and, in fostering this sympathy, Kosuth has been obliged to pay a tribute to the feelings of legality that animates even the humblest class in England, by eschewing in his speeches the demagogical rant in which he had indulged only a week before at Marseilles. The applause of the English people was given to the revolutionary character of the man, but to the able manner in which he had brought the grievances of his country before them. Several unprejudiced and impartial English journals have already begun to inquire how far Kosuth has a right to the distinction that has been accorded to him; and the *Examiner*, in particular, has cast a sharp glance on his past career, and on the presumption with which he has launched into his new one. It is not, however, for the English people to settle his right as to the position he is to hold among his own countrymen. The right belongs exclusively to the latter, and not to those who are scattered over the world in exile, but to those in whom reposes the will of the nation at home.

Meanwhile, my own decided opinion on the subject is this—that Kosuth is the least right to set himself up as the sole and exclusive representative of his country—not the least right to assume the title of Governor and the functions of Dictator, as he does in his address from Brussels to the

citizens of the United States; and that it is a most unwarrantable as well as a most illogical proceeding on his part to contend, as he does in the same document, that the Hungarian nation could not legally enter into any engagement or adopt any measure that would be incompatible with the act by which he was raised to the dignity of Governor; it being obvious, even if he had not resigned this dignity, that when the nation was reconstituted on its former constitutional basis, its legal representatives in Diet assembled would have the right to act in whatever way they might deem the most conducive to the welfare of the country.

I am also of opinion that, so far from following a sound policy in wishing, as he does, to remodel the constitution of 1848, and that of liberty in its principles of republicanism and unaltered democracy—principles which are at variance with the national laws and institutions, as well as with the manners, customs and genius of the people—he would have acted more wisely and rendered a more essential service to his country, if, after his liberation from the thrall of detention, he had appeared before the word in the simple character of a private individual. The conspicuous part which he took in the affairs of his country, and his subsequent misfortunes, would have secured him universal respect, while the modesty of his demeanor, by effacing from the minds of his countrymen the recollection of his faults and errors he committed, and through which Hungary has been brought to her present state of misery and servitude, would have given him a precedence by courtesy among his companions in exile, and placed him in a position to receive that useful advice and assistance which they would gladly have offered him for the purpose of hastening his return to the land of their birth. But instead of acting in this manner, he has set himself up as the dictator of his countrymen. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of those who, although far from wishing to fetter his activity, are not disposed to admit his claims, publicly to protest against his proceedings.

Without dwelling any longer on the weighty motives for caution, which may be deduced from his past career, I will merely observe, that his pretension to be still regarded as Governor is the more barefaced from the circumstances attending his resignation. The circumstances are these—He was summoned to resign, and three members of the Ministry, to resign. He instantly complied, and resigned the Government, without convening the Council of State, which he was bound by law to consult on every important occasion. He resigned without intimating his intention of doing so to the three other Ministers, (of which I was one), and who were, consequently, quite ignorant of the fact. He did not resign his authority into the hands of the Ministers, but under such circumstances he was bound to do—but into the hands of Gorgey. He even invested Gorgey with a power and authority which he had not been invested himself—viz: the dictatorship. He delegated a power which he only held himself personally, and in fact, provisionally, by a direct grant of the Emperor Francis Joseph, to Gorgey, and the Ministry, which he had no right whatever to do. Although it may be safely affirmed that he was in a state of moral and physical coercion, when he gave in his resignation, it must be borne in mind that he voluntarily confirmed this act when he was free from all restraint, and could never be persuaded to resign, and three members of the Ministry, in the midst of Gen. Bem's army, nor subsequently at Mohacs, when Bem urgently requested him to do so, and try the last chance that remained of success, to which request he again returned a negative answer in writing. By thus acting, he abandoned Hungary to her fate, and exposed all those who had taken a part in the revolution to the vengeance of Austria. He avowed intention of retiring into private life by crossing the frontier, and entering the Turkish dominions, before the capitulation of Vilagos could possibly be known to him, and while there were still fortresses and armies in Hungary by which the national cause had been sustained. In his letter of refusal to Gen. Bem, he in fact suggested the capture of the frontier, and the capture of the Ministry, which he had no right whatever to do. Although it may be safely affirmed that he was in a state of moral and physical coercion, when he gave in his resignation, it must be borne in mind that he voluntarily confirmed this act when he was free from all restraint, and could never be persuaded to resign, and three members of the Ministry, in the midst of Gen. Bem's army, nor subsequently at Mohacs, when Bem urgently requested him to do so, and try the last chance that remained of success, to which request he again returned a negative answer in writing. 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